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New Republic

EAST GERMANY —

The Communists' Worst Hour

by Thomas Goldstein

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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

The Administration has built all its plans on truce in Korea—diminished foreign aid, slashed defense funds, a balanced budget. But—we can't be sure of the Chinese Reds; we can't be sure of the ROKs. Rhee liberated UN prisoners by insubordinate action. His ambassador here now bluntly affirms that the ROKs will attack 180 days after the start of truce talks if Korea isn't by then moving toward unity. No written agreement with Rhee is so far divulged if, indeed, we have one.

If truce fails, it's hard to predict the national mood. Some will say abandon Korea . . . which means a Pacific debacle. Others will demand all-out war with any weapon at any risk. For instance, it is known that we now have enough atomic cannon to use in Korea; it will be hard not to use them if truce stalls.

The three-power meetings ended here with diplomatic statements meaning little. What happened was that we blocked Churchill's desire for four-power, top-level, man-to-man exploratory talks and served notice instead that Ike will stay at home until the USSR does something big, like agreeing to the Austrian or German settlement. This seems remote. Meanwhile we cut defense budgets.

McCarthy has deftly shifted tactics and substituted an attack on Britain for J. B. Matthews' unsuccessful Protestant-baiting. He may well re-coup his prestige unless the vacillating White House intervenes. Britain and our other UN allies must trade with Iron Curtain countries and Red China to live, unless we substitute our own goods, as we have conspicuously in Japan. The State Department knows this and has agreed to limited Allied trade with the Reds in non-strategic goods. It is, of course, an ideal target for isolationist attack and doubtless there have been some abuses. But a vigorous President could successfully explain it and defend it.

Eisenhower has done neither. He has permitted Defense Secretary Wilson to attack the trade while the State Department weakly defends it. Dulles avoided going before McCarthy himself and sent instead a sacrificial victim, John M. Leddy, a young assistant, who was brutally handled by McCarthy and his counsel Flanagan. At one point we thought Leddy would collapse as McCarthy metaphorically held him up and slapped his mouth. We watched the show and came away shaking and trembling as we so often do. This was the hearing that NY *Times*-man Arthur Krock last Sunday called "an example of Congressional investigation at the highest level." Krock, who avoids hearings personally, apparently committed the internationalist *Times* to support of this vicious attack on Britain.

As in the case of the book-burning issue, McCarthy now has the wriggling Administration hooked once more . . . until, perhaps, somebody tells Ike that an issue exists. Ike could help maintain touch with reality if he wanted to through his weekly press conferences. But the boys ask him disagreeable questions and he prefers golf. Press conferences now average only about one a fortnight.

Delays and filibusters may keep Congress in session a week or so after the adjournment goal of August 1, but it's already evident that no victorious new Administration since Grant's has achieved so little in its first session. Most of its battles have been with fellow Republicans; the major policy decisions are postponed until next year.

What Ike has conspicuously and spectacularly failed to do is to mobilize around himself a devoted personal "Eisenhower Coalition" like Roosevelt's in the New Deal. Curiously, Ike has not even attempted to do this but has poohpoohed the Democrats and devoted his efforts to uniting the Republicans into one party, in which task he has notably failed. Ike has obstinately wooed one girl, although it was the other one who was doing his washing! The situation has resulted in a queer legislative jumble.

"Heard about the new Washington dance?" asked our friend. Before we could answer "No," he replied brightly: "It's the 'Republican Glide'. You take one step forward, two steps backward, hesitate and then side-step."

One day last month, with seven members present, the Senate passed a bill for a Constitutional amendment in only seven minutes. This "7-7" amendment says a President can't seize private property without Congressional assent, something the Supreme Court already says he can't. The indefatigable McCarran slipped this one through.

McCarran also slipped through another bill a few weeks ago almost as unostentatiously — an ingenious device for undermining the Bill of Rights' safeguard against being required to testify against yourself. The McCarran gimmick would give a committee, like McCarthy's, authority to grant "immunity" to a reluctant witness; since the witness would then be free from federal prosecution, the theory is that he would no longer be protected by the Fifth Amendment which applies if a criminal penalty is involved. The bill is a phony because, among other things, it doesn't apply to state penalties. Ailing Taft opposed both these McCarran measures, but inexperienced Senator Knowland let them get through.

The Treasury will shortly ask Congress to boost the $275 billion federal debt ceiling. It will be a humiliating request for an Administration which cheerfully promised so many quick solutions in the campaign. Instead we are now going deeper into debt. Really, it's not all the Treasury's fault though. The thing that makes it so awkward is those awful Eisenhower campaign promises to maintain defense, balance the budget and simultaneously cut taxes. If Ike gets truce in Korea he might still pull it off, and we all hope that he can. And maybe the voters will forget the promises anyway.

* * *

McCarthy often accuses Senators who oppose him of abusing their franking privilege. Lately McCarthy has been peddling a weekly column to the newspapers. Very few have accepted it. He mails out 8,600 copies each week. The taxpayer pays the postage.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

A Subsidiary for Germany's Private Debt

GERMANY'S postwar debt to the US Government has been cut from $3.2 billion to $1 billion. The cut was taken so that Germany would repay in full its prewar debt to private bondholders, at an interest rate which will bring a profit of 100 percent or more. The Senate has approved the arrangement.

When the treaty was called up late one evening, only Sen. Guy M. Gillette (D, Iowa) rose to oppose it. Since no information had been made available to the Senators, Gillette demanded and obtained a delay. The press took no notice. When next the treaty was called up, a small group of Senators joined Gillette in opposition on the ground that the American taxpayer was being asked to pay Germany's private debt and that no one knew who the recipients of that payment would be. Again the press took no notice.

Between 1924 and 1930 a number of New York banking and investment houses—notably Dillon Read, Kuhn Loeb, Chase National, J. P. Morgan and the National City Bank—flooded the country with German bonds. The methods they employed to sell them resulted in a Senate investigation. In 1932 Sen. Hiram Johnson announced they had "violated the most elementary principles of business ethics." Within a few years those bonds became worthless. Hitler and other top Nazis bought back many of them for pennies. Then the Hitler government issued some bonds which were floated here by the same investment houses. These also were soon worthless. Many of the first group of bonds were taken to South America in the Nazi exodus; others were stolen when the Russians captured Berlin. The second group represented investments in Nazism and became worthless when Hitler was defeated.

Under the present treaty, some $546 million worth of the German bonds sold in this country will be honored. In 1943 the Treasury Department located some $83 million worth of those bonds. What has happened to them since 1943 is a mystery. As to the $463 million worth which were never located, no one knows where they are, who holds them, how they were obtained or how much was paid for them. No one knows how many of the bonds might have been repurchased by the issuing houses, how many may be held by ex-Nazis in South America or by the Russian Government, either of which could place them in the hands of US residents for redemption.

In view of the mystery, a few facts become interesting. At the US-German negotiations private investors were represented by several "protective associations." Among these was the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council which was initially financed by the same banking houses that pushed the German bonds in the American market. Recent contributions to the Council include substantial sums from Germany, Brazil, Argentina, the Dominican Republic and Costa Rica. Sen. James E. Murray (D, Mont.) indicated that the "Council is either the creature of, or at the very least, is greatly influenced by the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, of which Secretary John Foster Dulles was a member from 1911 to 1949. In the late thirties, Sullivan and Cromwell managed to represent both the bondholders who were seeking payment on defaulted bonds and the North German Lloyd Company, one of the German defaulting firms.

Senator Gillette and his supporters asked only that more information be obtained before the treaty was made law. Senator Murray said: "In view of the tawdry history of these bond issues, the conduct of the houses of issue, and the minimum information which is before the Senate, it is unthinkable to me that American taxpayers should now be asked to scale down the present German Government's debt so that the old bonds may be redeemed." But the Senate rejected Sen. Paul H. Douglas' (D, Ill.) motion to recommit, and ratified the treaty by a vote of 46 to 16. Thirty-three Senators did not vote. The press reported the result but, by and large, made no mention of the argument against the treaty.

You sure this doesn't violate any states' rights?

Exit Softly: Jim Crow

EVEN THE GROUPS that had been foremost in the fight on racial discrimination kept their fingers crossed when the Supreme Court banned segregation in District of Columbia restaurants.

The Mason and Dixon line, after all, lay 60 miles to the north; and the bigots had been predicting an explosion if Negroes ever tried to "sit down and eat" with whites, legally or otherwise.

Not only did the explosion fail to materialize, but after months of integration there hasn't been a significant sputter. Washington is proving itself a civilized cosmopolitan center instead of the Southern town of bourbon myth.

Both the management and the clientele of previously all-white establishments have taken with "complete nonchalance" the presence of Negroes and Indians at the dining tables, according to one survey. Owing perhaps to under-

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standable Negro reluctance, restaurants are experiencing no large influx of colored customers; integration has been most pronounced in middle-class restaurants in the center of the city, and least evident in the suburbs.

One of the most militant of the anti-segregation groups, the Coordinating Committee for the Enforcement of DC Anti-Discrimination Laws, asked Negroes to report immediately any infringement of the new ruling. Net score: no complaints. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, keeping a broad, discreet vigil, has had reports of a few incidents, but these only point up the general calm.

In one instance a Negro entered a restaurant that had previously employed him as a bus-boy. He was served, but the manager asked him not to come back again. He came back, accompanied by a colored test group from the NAACP. They found the restaurant serving Negro customers. The NAACP group, including the former bus-boy, were seated without comment and treated with courtesy.

In another instance a Negro customer noticed that the door to the restaurant had been locked after his arrival and no further diners were being admitted. The manager, queried about this, explained that he personallly opposed discrimination but, for business reasons, felt he should protect the restaurant's reputation.

The manager was taken into court, where he changed his story. The locking of the door had been routine procedure at closing time, he said. This establishment has been serving its occasional Negro clients without incident since then. To round out the story, the Washington Restaurant Association reports an increase in business.

Squeezing Investment

LIKE EVERYONE else who has to borrow these days, the Export-Import Bank of Washington is paying a higher rate for its money. It used to get funds from the Treasury Department for 1⅞ percent; now, under the Republican hard money program, it pays 2⅛ percent. So Export-Import must charge a higher rate on the loans it makes: foreigners who borrow from the bank find money dearer, and American exporters who sell on the basis of Export-Import loans find the going a little tougher.

But this is only the smallest part of Export-Import's worries. Secretary Humphrey and his deputy, W. Randolph Burgess, are putting the squeeze on this bank which was established in the depression days to bolster American exports. Humphrey and Burgess want private not public capital to be exported. Yet they haven't explained how they are going to encourage private capitalists to export money.

This is one example of what the Republican Administration is doing quietly to bury an agency born during the New Deal. State Department experts in the World Bank, and private economists who want American foreign trade expanded agree that the Export-Import Bank is still an essential instrument of American foreign economic policy.

Export-Import's record is remarkable. Its 19 years of existence has authorized loans totaling $6 billion, and during the entire period it has had to write off only $500,000 in losses. Few private banks can show so good a record. Moreover, the Bank has paid all its own operating expenses—it has only 138 employees, including janitors—and returned a sizable profit to the Treasury. Critics of the Treasury's new policy of squeezing Export-Import to death insist that at this time, when exports are falling and tariffs are still high, a public agency to make loans abroad is necessary.

There has been almost no criticism of Export-Import from the commercial banks, and many private loans have followed Export-Import loans to foreign countries. When Export-Import has made a loan, commercial banks feel they can safely enter a foreign country or actually supply a part of the loan along with Export-Import. But the Treasury maintains the United States should get out of the foreign lending business and depend entirely upon the World Bank.

Of course, another factor in the Treasury's thinking is that its advances to Export-Import go down on the books as expenditures, and thus show up on the deficit side of the ledger. Export-Import says that there is no reason to believe the loans will not be repaid, and it points to its past record as proof.

The United States is the leading creditor nation today. Yet its tariff policy is still highly restrictionist. Experts in the foreign economic field agree that it would be better to liberalize the import policy, but that it would be disastrous

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to restrict export of capital before such a liberalization. Yet that is exactly what the Treasury's new policy is doing. Not much is being heard about this change of policy, because foreigners who fail to get loans at Export-Import cannot make much noise in this country. But already applicants approaching Export-Import are being told to go elsewhere for funds they need to finance purchases in the US.

Private Debt

JOSE CLEMENTE OROZCO is generally regarded as one of the greatest of modern painters. Trained as an architect he was drawn to mural painting by his passionate concern for Mexico. In the bloody period that followed the murder of Madero in 1913, he joined the Constitutionalists of Carranza and drew cartoons for the paper *Vanguardia*. In the direct line of Goya, he recorded the heroism and also the suffering, the horror and the spiritual corruption of violence and civil war.

The fabulous Dr. Att led Orozco and most artists of his generation into the Syndicate of Technical Workers, Painters and Sculptors. Rivera and Siqueiros set out as good Communists, to put art at the service of the Communist Party; Orozco went his own way. His teachers were Giotto and Piero della Francesca; his ideal was St. Francis in whose spirit he saw the salvation of the Mexicans.

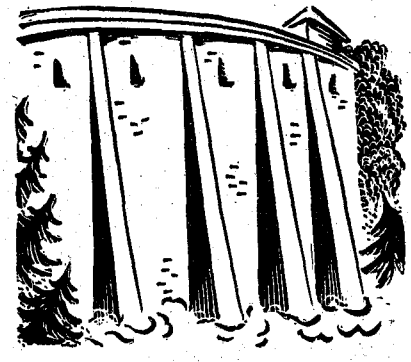
This year an Orozco exhibition organized by the Boston Institute of Contemporary Art, is touring America. It traveled as far as Los Angeles, and there, on the initiative of a mortgage banker who acts as chairman of The Board of Regents, it was banned from U.C.L.A. Scribblers may deface lavatories but no dangerous paintings will corrupt U.C.L.A. students while the Regents are on guard. But by going over to the Pasadena Art Institute, the students can see for themselves how Orozco felt about bullying, greed and stupidity among militarists, regents and mortgage bankers.

Hell's Canyon Speed-Up

THE Federal Power Commission suddenly is in a hurry to end hearings on the Idaho Power Company's application to build three small dams at Hell's Canyon. A request by the National Hell's Canyon Association and eight Northwest Public Utility Districts for a 90-day extension has been refused.

In June, farmer, labor and power-consumer groups formed the Hell's Canyon Association to fill the gap left when Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay withdrew the government's six-year-old opposition to Idaho Power's plan. The Association needs time to hire technicians and engineers and to prepare them for the hearings. Not only must it face representatives of Idaho Power, who have been on the case for years, but also representatives of the Pacific Power and Light Company of California, Electric Bond and Share, one of the biggest utility holding companies, and the National Association of Electric Companies.

Rejection of the Association's request sems arbitrary when the history of the case is recalled. Idaho Power filed its first preliminary application in 1947, then waited three years to follow it up.



Another 18 months elapsed before hearings were scheduled. Since hearings were begun, four delays have been granted: two for the FPC staff, one for McKay, and one for Idaho Power.

Denial of sufficient time to prepare its case is not the only difficulty facing the Hell's Canyon Association. The application it opposes was extensively revised on May 15; it is incomplete and vague. In seeming violation of its own rules, the FPC has begun hearings on an application which does not conform with the requirements of the Federal Power Act. In 1949 a Federal Circuit Court reversed a Federal Communications Commision ruling because the Commission had violated its own rules of procedure. Where there is opposition, an incomplete application violates due-process.

Although the Hell's Canyon case has roused the Northwest to arms, it has received little attention in the Eastern press. The hard-hitting Senate speeches of Wayne Morse (I, Ore.) on this subject have been virtually ignored. Democrats claim the speed-up and the lack of publicity are connected with the approaching 1954 elections.

Selective Economizing

IN THE NAME of economy, President Eisenhower slashed deeply into Harry Truman's budget. Cut no more, he pleaded. But Congress could not resist the magic word. The House chopped away: another $1.3 billion from defense funds; an extra $1.1 billion from foreign-aid funds; and a cut of 84 percent in the Voice of America, Civil Defense and Air Force construction appropriations. Some of this may be replaced in the Senate and in conference. But the Senate has also been waving the axe, chopping millions out of already puny sums for cancer and tuberculosis research, hospital construction and enforcement of the minimum-wage and child-labor laws.

This dedication to economy has not affected the accelerated tax-amortization program of the new "hard money" policy, however, both of which reduce government receipts.

The "hard money" policy has cut government income far more than it has the cost of what government must buy. And this year's unexpectedly large budget deficits resulted directly from low receipts during the second quarter of 1953. More "hard money" will add at least $500 million to the cost of servicing the national debt during this, the first, year alone.

Accelerated tax amortization also cuts receipts. Initiated to stimulate defense-plant building in the desperate first years of World War II, then revived because of Korea in 1950, the program has become "the biggest bonanza ever to come down the government pike."

Since 1950, tax write-offs under this program have totaled $26 billion. The total granted during the entire six years of World War II was $7.3 billion. But far from planning to reduce this program, key Republicans want to expand it. Rep. George A. Dondero (R, Mich.) has introduced a bill making tax write-offs retroactive to 1939. And Sen. Homer E. Capehart (R, Ind.) has introduced another extending write-offs to all who invest in new plants or equipment, whatever the reason.

Promising economy in government, yet holding selected expensive programs sacrosanct, the Republicans are now forced to chop at security and public welfare measures. If they persist in subsidizing the financial and business interests, they will almost certainly have to try for a national sales tax.

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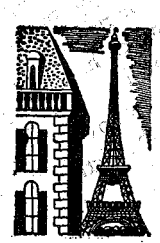
Paris Dispatch: RED RETREAT FROM GERMANY?

European and US opinion tended at first to disagree about Beria. Americans considered him the victim of an important palace *coup d'etat* carried out by Georgi Malenkov as a first step on the road to dictatorial power. They foresaw a great change in Soviet foreign policy, back from the goodwill offensive to toughness. Western Europeans, on the other hand, generally put the Georgian's liquidation in the category of *faits divers*—routine news items.

This attitude has now changed. It is believed that Beria's removal has a direct bearing on the evolution of the Soviet policy of appeasement of the West, particularly on Moscow's counter-moves to all-out US support of Germany's return to dominant power on the European continent, if not in a much larger area.

The Eisenhower Administration is doing everything in its power to help Konrad Adenauer win the West German election in September. The settlement of the German debt question was fantastically generous.

It was after a telephone call to Adenauer in Bonn that Secretary Dulles in Washington agreed to the Four-Power Foreign Ministers conference. The Chancellor had decided that he needed such a meeting *after* the election as bait for votes *before* the election. His goal, fully understood and backed by Eisenhower, is not only German reunification *and* all-German integration with the West. Nor is it only the "return" beyond the Oder-Neisse line. At Koln he said: "The fate of Germany, of Europe and of Christian culture depends on the result of the election because God has given our country the mission to save the Western and Christian world."



The formula of Bismarck, of Wilhelm II, of Hitler is now also Adenauer's: *Gott mit uns.* The Kremlin, until recently committed to the goal of a reunified Germany as a neutral, buffer state, has begun to ponder the problem of stopping the rise to power of a *Gross-deutschland* which had not only *Gott* but the US behind it. There is a chance, Western Europeans now believe, that Beria may have been the victim of a changed Soviet goal—of a retreat in Europe that may go as far as some sort of surrender of Germany.

It is too soon to tell. It is not too soon to notice that the immediate—though not the only or the most important—cause of Beria's removal was an exacerbated difference of opinion about nationality policy within the Soviet Union. This quarrel dates back at least to the death of Zhdanov. Then Malenkov—temporarily allied with Beria—favored multi-racial and multi-national development within the Soviet Union, some sort of conciliation leading to a *modus vivendi* with the West, short-term withdrawal from Europe, long-term expansion in Asia. The opposition was led by Vyacheslav Molotov.

But a quarrel between aspirants for power in the entourage of a Vozd is quite different from a clash between members of a ruling oligarchy. Some Western Europeans believe that Beria may have signed his death warrant by refusing or failing to understand or accept what Malenkov meant when he announced in the "inaugural" address after Stalin's death that Soviet policy would henceforth be based on facts.

One of these facts was that some sort of "convulsion" in the far-flung Soviet empire—and perhaps also in the Soviet Union itself—was inevitable. The Kremlin could dominate such a crisis, indeed the Soviet state could hold together, only if all personal and group contests for power were temporarily subordinated. The Communist Party, the Red Army and the Interior Ministry with its police, had to find a formula for cooperation.

Another fact was that, if there was to be a personal dictatorship, it would have to be in a new form, evolving slowly. Stalinism was impossible without Stalin himself. The death of the Vozd closed the crusading era. Faith could no longer be the lodestar. There had to be—and quickly—more consumers goods, more food, a higher standard of living and, if not greater freedom, then at least a tyranny based on less terror and the outward appearance of justice.

But, it appears, Beria, a Georgian and ambitious for the Stalinistic inheritance, found all this harder to accept than his fellow-hierarchs. As the official Grand Inquisitor, he exaggerated the power—and the possibilities—of his secret police. Moreover, by training, temperament and by force of historical circumstances, he considered himself the symbol and custodian of Stalin's religiose orthodoxy.

Molotov rather than Malenkov, the army rather than the party, broke Beria. The issue was the application of the Malenkov - Beria nationalities policy. Molotov insisted on more rather than less Russification of Soviet soil, on stronger Russian nationalism on the frontiers as a barrier against the emergent satellites' nationalism. The army fully supported his stand for military reasons—and also because it wanted to take over control of the secret police apparatus.

But Beria favored, and used his own secret police to put into effect, a relaxation of Muscovite control in the Soviet border regions, comparable to the so-called "counter-liberation" policy of modified nationalism in the satellites.

Yet there has been no noticeable change in the policy of "counter-liberation" moderation, begun by the Kremlin before his liquidation, in East Germany and the satellites. On the other hand, there does seem to have been a change in the Soviet border areas in the direction of renewed Russification. Malenkov and Molotov have both won and only Beria has lost.

The lesson which some Western European observers read now into the downfall of Beria is that the Soviet Union, realistic in facing the facts, may be preparing one of the most sensational strategic retreats in its history. The Kremlin may be ready to write off Germany temporarily, while at the same time deciding on its future policy toward the satellites—either building them up into a *cordon sanitaire* of buffers against the new Germany of *Gott* and General Eisenhower, or trying to offer their "independence" as bait to the more ardent of the US liberationists in order to leave Adenauer alone with *Gott.*

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial The Big Three Report

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS of Britain, France and the US met to consider Churchill's plan to break the deadlock on Germany. Churchill's method was to treat Malenkov as the new Soviet dictator, and to consider with him issues of his choosing. The foreign ministers propose instead to meet with Molotov on Germany alone.

They affirm first that *"The North Atlantic alliance is fundamental . . . and must be maintained."*

They affirm further that the European Community *"corresponds to the lasting needs of its members* and *. . . is to be looked upon as necessary in itself and not linked up with existing international tensions."*

They declare, thirdly, that *"the early reunification of Germany . . . would be a great contribution to the easing of international tensions."*

They declare lastly that *"early and orderly progress (towards German unification) requires the co-operation of the Soviet Government."*

As long as these four objectives prevail in their present form, the unification of Germany is not likely to be early or orderly. For while any three of the objectives taken together are obtainable, all four are not. Russia might co-operate in unifying Germany *if* the European Union were abandoned. Or, Russia might co-operate in the unification of Germany and its incorporation in the European Community *if* NATO were given up, and with it the right to station US troops on European soil. Or, Germany might be unified and joined through the European Community to NATO: but in that event "the required co-operation of the Soviet Government" will *not* be forthcoming. It will be more strenuously withheld, because of the West's insistence that the all-German government must be chosen in free elections. For the East Zone workers have confirmed the Western claim that the Communists could not elect a dog-catcher in Pomerania.

It is true that the new combination of Soviet weakness and German assertiveness may make the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Europe a real possibility for the first time since the war. It is further true that the West must seek to gain this objective by negotiation. And yet in dealing with the Russians, the Western nations must always maintain an alternate program for security and growth, if negotiations with the Russians fail. If today, simply by holding out the bait of German unity, Russia can bring progress toward European Union to a halt, then she may win both Germany and Europe. The forward momentum of Western unity would be lost; the critical years that bore fruit for us in 1787 would pass for Europe and be lost forever to free men. Frustrated, the US would go its own way. Fragmented, the nations of Europe would fall prey to Soviet pressures. Free to maneuver and to dream, the Germans would look both ways. Then the Soviet leaders could well afford to risk the momentary loss of the East Zone, confident that they could outbid a divided West and so draw Germany to their side.

For this reason the foreign ministers were right to affirm that European Union and NATO cannot be given up on the off chance of German unification. They were wrong in failing to recognize that following German unification NATO and European Union must and should take very different forms.

It may be unrealistic to assume that, following a peace settlement, the four powers can keep a unified, sovereign Germany neutral and disarmed. It is also unrealistic, if we seek to unify Germany with the co-operation of the Soviet Government, to suppose that the Kremlin will withdraw its troops from the East Zone only to have a unified Germany join NATO and then, like other NATO nations, welcome US troops back on German soil. Nor is the permanent deployment of American soldiers on European soil sacroscanct in NATO's defense plans. Our troops are stationed among NATO nations because we alone build and fly heavy bombers for NATO's common defense. Once the occupation forces withdraw from Germany, as they must following a Soviet withdrawal, there is no essential reason why those few American bombers that must be based on the European continent should not be flown and maintained by Europeans.

In the same way, since the plans for the European army have slowed to a halt, we can well afford to make policy out of expediency. The European Army was one of many projects in European federation and never the most popular. Instead of tying European federation to its fate, we might more wisely encourage European nations to adopt the political constitution that is ready.

Those who believe that nationalism is the one great force in Europe may look on German unification as a final act. We think they are wrong. Chancellor Adenauer is the leading advocate of European Union, and the first question of many East Zone Social Democrats who flee across the border is "why has our party not supported European federation?" Short-sighted Soviet leaders may gamble on our bidding the West for the support of a neutralized Germany; wiser men might reflect that Russia's best protection like our own lies in the merging of Germany into a united Europe. With these changes, then, the four objectives might still be achieved.

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Ulbricht's Worst Hour

East Zone Communists are caught between Russian prisons and the German crowds

by Thomas Goldstein

On June 23, one week after the East German uprising had shaken the Kremlin and startled the world, Premier Otto Grotewohl, Communist Party boss Walter Ulbricht, and a few other dignitaries of the Red regime presented themselves to the workers of the Karl Liebknecht transformer plant, one of the largest industrial plants in East Berlin. Red Army tanks were still patrolling the streets as they crossed the plant gates. The firing squads were still active. The siege was still on. The *Volkspolizei* was still raiding workers' homes and searching plants in the manhunt for the leaders of the revolt. There were 50,000 suspects still held under arrest. Under these circumstances, it took a kind of arrogant courage for the "leaders of the working class" to appear before the workers they were holding down with tanks and firing squads. It was a courage born of despair. The meeting held at the Liebknecht plant was one of many public appearances in the factories, all part of a frantic effort to bridge the gulf of hatred and violence that had opened up between the people and the regime.

No doubt the Communist bosses hoped that the workers had been sufficiently intimidated by one week's rule of terror to treat the representatives of the dictatorship with due respect. Instead they found that the workers possessed in fact the qualities they had praised in former days. In the words of a Communist-controlled paper, the workers at once involved the government leaders in a "passionate" discussion which lasted several hours, humiliating them with the bitter comments and ironic shouts that a street-corner orator might expect from a hostile, heckling audience in a free country.

In opposition the Communist orators had taught generations of workers to scorn promises of pie in the sky by and by! Now the scorn was turned on their own assurances of better days to come. How did the regime propose to raise the standard of living to make good its promises, the workers demanded to know—since the entire economy had been geared to produce arms and heavy machinery, rather than for consumers' goods? Where would the promised food come from—in view of eight years of mismanagement, which have reduced the East German agriculture from Germany's one-time "bread-basket" area to a sad state of deficiency? If the regime confessed—as it did—to countless "errors" in the management of the Zone—who would protect the people from future damage, as long as the same "leaders" remained in control? Would those responsible for the damage be taken to account? When, how and by whom? Finally, and most terrible for the bosses who were forced to listen—since the regime had committed such "errors" and publicly confessed to them, why did it not resign and make room for another, freely elected government?

The Communist apologists had their answers ready; sorely inadequate answers, to be sure, some of them downright silly—such as the pompous assertion that resigning was the "easy way out" and that they considered it their duty to stay in office in order to mend the damage they had done. We may picture them standing red-faced on the improvised rostrum in front of the outraged crowd, wiping the sweat from their brows, trying out and then abandoning the Communist phrases and clichés that once emblazoned their oratory, matching unsuccessfully elaborate rhetorical abilities with the straightforward and unsophisticated ways of German workingmen. It was a desperate way of bidding for popular support—and Ulbricht, Grotewohl and their comrades must have endured some of the worst hours of their lives.

Their ordeal suggests the awful dilemma in which the puppet rulers of the East Zone now find themselves. They have been rescued through the intervention of a number of Soviet armored divisions. Yet the rescue itself must have made it plain, not only to the outside world but also to the Soviet Government, that the German bosses have become expendable. A native "working-class" regime which has managed to provoke the workers into a general uprising and can survive only by special Red Army reinforcements is a dangerous liability from the Kremlin's point of view. Caught between the East German crowds and the Soviet purgers, the German Communist leaders must be fighting for their lives as they tour the plants, seeking evidence of some fresh working-class support, which might justify their continued existence in the Kremlin's view. Dear Comrades, they explain to the infuriated Soviet chiefs, it wasn't an uprising at all, just a regrettable misunderstanding. To make matters worse, the German Communists who attached themselves like suckers to the Soviet shark and clung on, must

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wonder—to whom in the Kremlin do we now cling?

These men, Ulbricht, Grotewohl and their obedient subordinates, are not fanatic idealists, gone wrong. They are not believers to whom the opportunity came after years of martrydom to put their Communist faith into practice. They are unscrupulous careerists, and their only sincere belief is their devotion to power. They have committed every hypocrisy and every brutality in serving their masters and in impoverishing and oppressing their own people. Their favorite pose is that of an 18th century absolutist monarch, pouting in the face of popular revolt about the "ingratitude of the populace." The favorite line of the East German Communists in this pep talk campaign is to refer to the enormous benefits which the regime was about to bestow upon the people, when the June revolt broke out—and all but upset their magnanimous plans.

But the German workers are not so easily deceived. Those startling reforms which the regime had announced eight days before the revolt—and which impressed the world—had little in common with the needs of the East German workers. Looking now at these reforms one can see that they were minor benefits designed principally to allure the middle class. Loans for private enterprise were to be facilitated; taxes to be eased; holdings to be restored; compensations for property lost through collectivization to be granted. It was a kind of NEP, a "new economic policy" after the Russian pattern of the early twenties, with the purpose of revitalizing the economy through limited doses of capitalist methods. The targets were the retailers, the small businessmen, the big farmers, the people with remnants of property left. A move toward relaxation of the general atmosphere accompanied these reforms: a lessening of pressure upon schools and churches, an easing of traveling restrictions, some bait for enraged middle-class parents. some friendly gestures towards the Protestant community, some promises of more consumers' goods for the housewife. There was no hint, in these pre-revolt handouts, that the tempo of industrial exploitation would be slowed down. The Five-Year Plan with its murderous "goals," for which the work norms were constantly being pushed up, was there to stay.

And it was the Five-Year Plan that was the underlying issue which touched off the revolt. The first demand of the demonstrating workers was the abolition of the work norms, through which the hourly output for a given wage had been raised by an additional 10 percent. The government decided to yield this point immediately. But it is only now, after the revolt, that the regime is undertaking a plant-by-plant poll to find out what it is that labor really wants. No serious cut-back in the Five-Year Plan has as yet been ordered nor is it at all probable.

Everybody knows, of course, that this combined goodwill and fact-finding tour is mere nonsense. Labor wants a lowering of production goals to a point where they will become normal again. Labor wants decent wages and decent working conditions and enough goods on the market, at reasonable prices, to make their work worth while. The members of the government do not have to stoop down to the "individual factory level" and stage plant rallies to elicit these facts. But, then, the Communist bosses do not make personal appearances in the plants in order to learn—but in order to give the workers the feeling that their demands are being heard, to "give them an outlet." As of this writing, the plant discussions seem to have degenerated into detailed debates over improvements in washrooms, sanitary conditions and the like—where they would, at least, have been safely channelled away from any revolutionary implications.

The German Communist leaders are men trapped in a dilemma, which, in the long run, must be a hopeless one. Their job is to squeeze the East Zone economy, with increasing intensity, for the Soviet market. The Five Year Plan means an approximate doubling of industrial output between 1950 and 1955. Up to now, they certainly have been efficient, as far as that assignment goes. But it was the kind of deadly efficiency that is sometimes associated with the German temperament: in their single-mindedness they have ruined everything else. They caused the first serious labor resistance inside the Soviet empire. They have every reason to do anything they can to prevent a repetition of labor unrest. Between the demand from on high—fulfillment of the Five Year Plan quotas—and the resistance from below, the regime is not in an enviable spot. But Communist practice has a well-tested formula to solve the problem for which there is no logical solution: the purge.

I doubt that the record of Ulbricht, Grotewohl and associates looks very pretty from Moscow's point of view. In their mania for racing ahead of production goals, they have torn quite a few rents into the Soviet myth. They have exposed the flimsiness of satellite power, which—when the chips are down—must yell for Red Army help. They have dealt a devastating blow to the myth of indigenous Communist rule resting on popular support. In their mad speed-up system they have gone to the limits of Soviet exploitation and beyond—to the point where labor simply refuses to go along. In short, they have managed to rob Communism of every pretext and every conceivable justification, exposing its naked reality—ruthless exploitation based on military force. The Kremlin might not appreciate such excessive efficiency.

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The Protestant Church Under Fire

Right-wing Protestants are behind the Congressional attack
McCarthyism revives tensions between Protestants and Catholics

The Protestant Right-Wing

IT SEEMED to many observers that Rep. Donald J. Jackson (R, Calif.) had started down the road to political suicide four months ago when he accused Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of serving "God on Sunday and the Communist front for the balance of the week"—an accusation which Oxnam is scheduled to answer before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Yet Jackson's attack followed the proposal of Rep. Harold Velde (R, Ill.) to investigate Communism in the clergy. And Jackson was in turn followed by Rep. Gordon Scherer (R, Ohio) and the McCarthy-Matthews combination. Like political lemmings, Velde, Jackson, McCarthy and Scherer seemed, inexplicably, to be marching into the sea.

But Jackson and his clergy-baiting colleagues may prove less suicidal than they look. They have merely joined an attack that has been gaining momentum for years within the Protestant fold.

Long before the Jackson outburst, Bishop Oxnam came under fire in his own church from an oil-wealthy group of Texans calling itself the "Committee for the Preservation of Methodism." The group falsely ascribed to Oxnam the authorship of a tract praising Joseph Stalin and inaccurately accused him of "insistence on the circulation of Jerome Davis' *Soviet Power*."

At the climax of a recent radio debate with Oxnam, Representative Jackson produced his ace in the hole. "I would like to read," he said, "a comment from not just the average American, but from the Committee for the Preservation of Methodism"—and he proceeded to retail the Committee's accusations. He might also have quoted another Methodist group, the Circuit Riders, one of whose spokesmen maintained last year that their church was "more infiltrated by Communism than any other in the United States."

A pamphlet published by the Texas committee—"Is There a Pink Fringe in the Methodist Church?"—has been singling out a rather vulnerable target, the Methodist Federation for Social Action, which Oxnam quit in 1947, and which the church cut off from any semblance of official support in 1952. "Pink Fringe" appeared once more this year, still belaboring the Methodist Federation as if it were part of the church.

"When anyone," Oxnam replied to Jackson, "quotes this little organization of a few reactionary laymen down in Houston as impressive, it's the least bit sad." The Bishop thus summarized the real menace—and the real strength—of the Congressional investigators. They have been quoting reactionary groups within the church.

Rev. James Fifield, pastor of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles, has supplied similar ammunition to red-hunters. In his denomination the attack was concentrated on the Council for Social Action—a group invulnerable to any honest charge of subversion, and numbering among its leaders such distinguished clerics as Ray Gibbons, Herman Reissig and Liston Pope, dean of the Yale Divinity School.

A "study" sponsored by Fifield last year charged, among other things, that the Council for Social Action: Included an "astonishingly large number" of persons affiliated with subversive movements; challenged the capitalist system and private property, and was blind to the menace of Communism. At the time of the Fifield charges the CSA had gone on record in support of the North Atlantic Pact and had published articles clearly favoring liberal programs within the capitalist framework. The alleged subversive affiliations were based on the long-discredited listings of the Dies Committee.

Fifield is the founder of the flourishing "Spiritual Mobilization" movement which, though avowedly nonpolitical, opposes federal aid to education, health insurance, social security, crop controls and public housing.

Spiritual Mobilization claims the support of 17,000 clergymen, and has received financial contributions from such heavy industrialists as E. T. Weir (National Steel), Charles M. White (Republic Steel), J. Howard Pew (Sun Oil), Frank Drake (Gulf Oil) and B. E. Hutchinson (Chrysler Corporation).

Fifield and his Mobilization illustrate the political logic behind the Congressional probes. If Protestant churchmen of such wealth and respectability feel no hesitation in hanging the subversive label on their own liberal clergy, why should McCarthy, Velde and Jackson hesitate?

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"Why be horrified at the thought of investigating Communist infiltration within the ranks of churchmen?" the newspaper *Christian Economics* editorialized in April, "It might reveal, among other things, the important part played by members of this group in the betrayal of China to the Moscow atheists."

Christian Economics is a tabloid published by the Christian Freedom Foundation, whose president, Howard Kerschner, distinguished himself as director of relief work for the American Friends Service Committee. CFF has numbered on its board of directors such prominent ministers as Norman Vincent Peale and Harry K. Eversull, who also have served on the Spiritual Mobilization advisory committee. On the list of CFF financial contributors there appears, once more, the name of J. Howard Pew.

The respectability of CFF does not prevent it from hanging the familiar label on liberal clergymen. "Christian liberalism, which is so friendly to Socialism," reads a CFF pamphlet, "has penetrated the Protestant church so deeply that, throughout the country, many ministers of many denominations have become fellow-travelers." The pamphlet solicits the help of "individuals and concerns who are aware of the socialist fraud and desire to promote a sane attitude toward free enterprise in our United States."

Why "Christian" economics? Because, according to the tabloid, "the laws of economics are the laws of God," which prevail in "a free market system operated by conscientious Christian men, where all are free to do as they please so long as they do not injure others."

The proviso against injuring others did not prevent *Christian Economics*, in April, from reprinting a scare piece, "The Communists Are After Your Church," by Herbert Philbrick, an ex-FBI agent.

> Communism in American churches has gone shockingly far, [Philbrick wrote]. . . . The Church offers Communists decided advantages. It is the stronghold for idealism. It is the place where one expects to find a social conscience ["Social," in CFF semantics, connotes "socialistic," also "liberal"] . . . the perfect place for the recruiting of unsuspecting puppets. . . .
>
> Virtually no Communist-front activity takes place today without ministerial and church support, sponsorship or participation.

The spectrum of right-wing church organizations continues—through the National Association of Evangelists, which claims 20 million followers and denounces such menaces as the "Jewish whiskey trust"—to Carl McIntire's schismatic American Council of Christian Churches, numbering some 200,000 followers.

During the first wave of anger that followed publication of J. B. Matthews' attack on the Protestant clergy, it appeared that the Congressional investigators were getting their cues mainly from the vociferous McIntire.

Undoubtedly he played a part in the red-hunt. But the ordeal of the clergy, both in the Congressional committee room and in the parish, arises from a phenomenon bigger and more important than McIntire: an army of lay and clerical churchmen, well-supported, well-shielded and equipped with an inexhaustible stockpile of red labels.

RALPH WINNETT

Protestants and Catholics

When President Eisenhower denounced J. B. Matthews' charge that Protestant clergymen are the backbone of the American Communist apparatus, he stepped into a hot controversy that was as much religious as it was political. For there is no question about it today; McCarthy and some of his fellow investigators have stirred up a bitter Protestant-Catholic controversy. Years of progress in the field of brotherhood and inter-faith, activity are being wiped out by a growing bitterness, which provokes some Protestants to blame McCarthy on the Roman Catholic Church, and which moves some Catholics to blame the Protestants for Communism.

It is significant that Eisenhower's blast at an article written by the executive director of the McCarthy committee came in answer to a plea from the nation's principal inter-faith organization, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, which has made much progress in building friendship among Americans of differing religious beliefs. Leaders of this organization were plainly worried that the Matthews article in *American Mercury*, with its sweeping indictment of Protestant ministers, would put the torch to a controversy which has been smoldering for some time.

Religious news writers have noticed this alarming Protestant-Catholic friction popping out at national church conventions, in religious publications and in Sunday sermons. A religious reporter from Wisconsin particularly is repeatedly asked, "Is the Catholic Church behind McCarthy?" "Is it true that Wisconsin priests ordered their people to vote for McCarthy?"

No honest answer except "No" can be given to both questions. McCarthy has no "official" Catholic endorsement, and considerable "unofficial" Catholic opposition. The Catholic weekly, *Commonweal,* although admittedly the voice of a liberal minority, has long crusaded against him. Father Robert C. Hartnett, editor of the Jesuit weekly, *America*, says McCarthy has "debauched public discussion in this country" and "done more harm than good." Father George B. Ford, pastor of the Roman Catholic Church of Corpus Christi in New York, has labelled McCarthy "a vicious demagogue."

But anti-Communism has always been strong among priests, and whipped up by McCarthy's charges, many of them have made indictments even more sweeping than those of McCarthy, who is dependent upon Protestant as well as Catholic votes. McCarthy's priestly supporters tend to go all the way and blame Communism onto Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation.

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Such attacks send Protestants into a rage, and many of them fire back with charges of "fascism" that are every bit as sweeping. They see Catholic McCarthy, aided by converts to Catholicism such as Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley, avowed opponents of free thought such as Catholic William Buckley, and "renegade" Protestants such as Matthews, leading a new Inquisition.

The general assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the USA, the big, prosperous denomination to which Eisenhower belongs, is a good example. This church with its 2.5 million members convened in Minneapolis in June, smarting with indignation at the attacks on Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Episcopal Bishop Henry Knox Sherill, and Elizabeth McAfee Horton.

Most of all, they were enraged at Matthews' *Mercury* article which labelled the Presbyterian elder statesman, Dr. John W. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, as a "top Communist collaborationist." The president of their MacAlester College at St. Paul, Dr. Charles J. Turck, had been similarly labelled.

Observers were shocked to see that the reaction was as much anti-Catholic as it was anti-McCarthy and anti-Matthews. The Presbyterians, knowing full well that Turck and Mackay had never even been suspected of left-wing activity, concluded that they had been smeared because they had criticized the Roman Catholic church (which they had, from time to time).

Dr. Turck cried, "When a great president of a great seminary of the Presbyterian church, with exact logic, has presented the charge that the Roman Catholic church in South America has not proved a blessing to the people there, and some renegade ex-Communist lists him as a subversive, we are seeing a modern counterpart of what Francis I tried to do to John Calvin in 1533." He urged Presbyterians to "defy any man or any church to silence our lips."

In a stinging blast at McCarthyism delivered after he was elected moderator of his church, Dr. Mackay went on to denounce "fascists—political, social or religious," thus showing similar indignation.

DR. CHARLES T. LEBER, general secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, warned the assembly against "a rising fascism in the world, dominated by a Roman Catholic hierarchy." Anti-McCarthyism, mixed with anti-Catholicism, was clearly evident, and not a word of protest was raised against it, even by the most conservative Presbyterians (and there are many). Nothing unites Protestants faster than an attack on them by Roman Catholics, even if it is imagined.

Sermons in many Protestant denominations are turning more and more on the theme that McCarthy is attacking the very principles of the Protestant Reformation. The fear is given substance by what McCarthy spokesmen there are within the Roman Catholic church. "I think McCarthy has done and is doing a grand job," stated Father Ginder in the June 28 issue of *Our Sunday Visitor*, a nationally circulated Catholic weekly. "I can see nothing wrong with his methods." The priest said he spoke only for himself, but at the same time he pointed out that the paper's editor was pro-McCarthy, along with the Brooklyn *Tablet* and the Baltimore *Catholic Review*, both official diocesan publications edited under the direction of a bishop.

Father Ginder backed his claim of Catholic endorsement of McCarthy by noting that the nationally syndicated columnist, Father James Gillis, has been "in McCarthy's corner from the start," and that Father Gillis had received "the highest degree of honor . . . from Rome in recognition of his brains and his long record of faithful service to the cause of truth."

From backing McCarthy, some Catholic spokesmen swing into McCarthy-like attacks on Protestant leaders, accuse them of being pro-Communist, and thereby boost this growing religious tension. The La Crosse (Wis.) *Catholic Register*, an official diocesan publication, has called for a Congressional investigation of the Protestant missionary program in South America to see if it is Communist financed, and raised the question of whether the National Lutheran Council (a co-operative agency for four million United States Lutherans) is a Communist front.

Register columnist Father James E. Noonan has blamed the whole chaotic state of world affairs, the growth of Red domination and the "shabby tent at Panmunjom," directly on Martin Luther, one of the pillars of Protestantism.

William H. Mooring, another nationally syndicated Catholic columnist, has accused the National Lutheran Council and the super-conservative Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (1.9 million members) of teaming up with the Communists to smear the Catholic church through the film, "Martin Luther." Mooring based this charge on his claim that the director of the film had been accused of Communist-front membership by the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

Responsible Protestants and Catholics have been gravely worried about the growing tension. *The Christian Century*, an authoritative voice of Protestantism, warned recently that McCarthy seems to be aiming at the Presidency, and that such an aim is filled with danger.

> Thoughtful Catholics, and in particular the members of the hierarchy, should be asking what effect a McCarthy candidacy would have on their church [the magazine said]. We believe a little reflection should cause them to convey word to the Wisconsin Senator that his own church repudiates his candidacy, not because he is a Catholic, but because he is the kind of man he is.

Such a warning from the hierarchy might not stop McCarthy, of course, any more than a warning from the head of his political party. But at least it might ease the fears of others, and stop one of the most dangerous of the many evil chain reactions he has started.

WILLIAM R. BECHTEL

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The House—A Second Senate?

The House no longer gives equal voice to all voters; populous cities bow to rural districts for the greater glory of politicos

by Richard L. Neuberger

IN MY STATE the legislature is totally out of balance. Backwoods districts have more seats than their population justifies, while city and small-town districts are far below their quota. The American people long have accepted this condition in state legislatures as normal. But discrimination against urban dwellers has now been extended with a vengeance to the US House of Representatives through Article I, section 4, of the federal Constitution, which makes legislatures the arbiters of how Congressmen shall be selected.

It hardly follows that a legislature over-loaded with rural politicians is likely to give city and town residents their constitutional parity in Congress. As a result, the national House has become literally a second Senate, but without the stabilizing influence of the Senate's smaller membership, greater ability and longer tenure.

Originally the country's Founding Fathers, some against their will, conceded that the allotment of seats in the Senate should cater to area. But, from its beginning, the Constitution specified that each Representative should speak for substantially the same number of people. This provision today is honored principally in the breach.

Rep. Samuel W. Yorty (D, Calif.), for example, speaks for 480,827 constituents in the state's 26th District, while Rep. Donald L. Jackson (R, Calif.), the man who impugned the patriotism of Bishop Oxnam, speaks for 223,703 in the same state's 16th District.

Be the states vast like California or of postage-stamp proportions like Connecticut, legislatures invariably seem to have trouble with their arithmetic. Thus Representative Thomas J. Dodd (D, Conn.) has 539,661 constituents in the state's 1st District while Representative James T. Patterson (R, Conn.), in the same state's 5th District, has a mere 274,300 constituents. And these are not obscure numbers. They mean that each resident of the under-populated district has twice the voice in the House as each resident of the over-populated district.

The differences within states are no sharper than the discrepancies between different states. The ratio of almost four to one between the number of constituents represented by certain House members is actually greater than the contrast in the constituencies represented by the US Senators from Michigan and Kansas, respectively. Yet our form of government has relied on a Senate apportioned geographically and a House meticulously divided as to population. Obviously, mathematics have gone awry when one Ohio district in the House has 545,000 residents and another Ohio district materially less than half this number of people—227,000.

Lop-sided legislatures are rarely prone to organize nicely-balanced Congressional districts. During the past half century Americans have migrated to cities and towns. Industrialization, both on the farm and the city, has prompted the trend. But rural members of state legislatures, deprived of their constituents, will not vote to do away with their own seats. The urge to self-preservation among politicians shames that among the beasts of jungle and tundra. Most unbalanced legislatures craftily carve up the map to serve the personal political ambitions of state senators and state representatives who yearn to answer rollcalls in the national Congress.

The result has been neglect of urban problems in the one branch of Congress where city and town dwellers, because of their preponderant numbers, might expect to have their welfare zealously promoted. Such issues as housing, race relations, traffic jams, school lunches and public assistance are often peculiar to metropolitan areas. But the House of Representatives has ceased to be a forum where these questions are preoccupying.

One remedy is to reapportion legislatures to fit modern population figures. This can best be done in states with the initiative and referendum. A reapportionment measure was adopted decisively by the voters at the polls in Oregon in November of 1952. It will take affect for the first time next year. Similar efforts now are planned in California and Washington state.

Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York has suggested a method which strikes higher on the trunk of the tree. He favors a federal law forbidding the variance between Congressional districts within a state to be greater than 15 percent. He believes all districts in the nation should contain somewhere between 300,000 and 400,000 people. If a district fell below or soared above these limits, the Congressman from the offending area would automatically be deemed to have faulty credentials.

Until some scheme is devised to make the House conform to population, the interests of Americans who live in cities will be poorly represented in the Capitol.

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Stevenson – Rome and Belgrade

A Socialist's overture to Nenni seemed dangerous

The Tito government was friendly and impressed

ROME: Frank Gervasi

ADLAI STEVENSON had last seen Italy in 1943. The war was in full cry. From Palermo to Naples and nearly up to Cassino he saw smashed cities, towns and villages, broken bridges, tattered roads, fouled fields and harassed, hopeless, hungry people. He heard experts predict that it would take half a century to rebuild the ruins and dispel the despair.

Last week Stevenson revisited Italy. Guest and host could not have met under less auspicious circumstances. Both were tired. Stevenson was over-traveled and overworked. Italy was in crisis following a national election in which the democratic Center had won at best a pyrrhic victory in a struggle with the Left and Right.

But during an eight-day stay that straddled the Fourth of July weekend, Stevenson saw much of the terrain he had covered in 1943 and Rome and Venice to boot. What had been accomplished in the way of physical reconstruction in less than a fifth of the expected time moved him to praise a "spectacular recovery of an indomitable people."

Here was a new note. Italians have heard more criticism than praise from American politicians, big and little, lately, certainly since November, 1952. Not since the heyday of the Marshall Plan and the leadership of the Harrimans and Hoffmans have Italians heard an American politician publicly acknowledge that Italian toil, sweat and money had something to do with the quasi-miracle of Italy's postwar recovery.

Too often and too blatantly American politicos—as distinct from honest, earnest public servants—have stressed the sacrifices of American taxpayers and their constituents' collective largesse in making possible European reconstruction, ignoring both the obvious advantages that accrued to the American economy from European economic recovery and the contribution made to recovery by the Europeans themselves.

Since the war's end, thoughtful Italians have sought to discern a Jefferson or a Lincoln in the face we presented to them. More often than not they found a Hoover. Could they have heard Stevenson express outright pride in the contribution of the US taxpayer to Italian recovery, they might have discerned that generosity characteristic of the best that is American.

It was unfortunate that Stevenson did not have more time to spend in Italy and that he saw too few people, Americans as well as Italians. It would have been heartening to Embassy workers to have heard Stevenson say what he said at his press conference:

"It seems to me that we are reaping the harvest of patience, of firmness and of sacrifice. Yugoslavia has shaken off the Soviet shackles, and recently in Berlin and Czechoslovakia the Iron Curtain has shown signs of strain. With brighter prospects for peace than the free world has faced since the war, it seems to me that this is no time to wobble."

The Governor spent about an hour with Pope Pius, talked an hour and a quarter with Christian Democrat de Gasperi, conferred with outgoing Christian Democrat Finance Minister Pella and had luncheon conferences with enlightened industrialist Adriano Olivetti and Giuseppe Saragat, the Social Democrat leader. Saragat, confirmedly pro-American and pro-Western on foreign policy, is considerably to the Left of the Christian Democrat leader on domestic issues. Saragat wants to push land reform, fiscal reforms and housing, clean out corruption and cut off all sources of revenue for the Communist Party. So does de Gasperi, but not fast enough.

Following the elections Saragat took a new tack. He has urged de Gasperi to invite left-wing Socialist Pietro Nenni, the only non-Communist bigwig to attend Stalin's funeral, to participate in a new de Gasperi government rather than enlist the aid of the Monarchists.

Saragat counseled de Gasperi—who flatly turned down the advice—to take in Nenni in an effort to wean him away from the Communists. Given responsibility, Saragat reasons, Nenni would be irrevocably split from Palmiro Togliatti's Kremlinists. Nenni's participation in the government might even split his own party. The over-all effect would be, according to Saragat, the reduction of the Communist and Communist-dominated forces. The Communists and Nenni Socialists gained substantially in the recent election.

Frank Gervasi, well-known US correspondent, was formerly Information Chief of ECA in Italy.

D. J. Jerkovic, formerly Yugoslav Ambassador to India, is a staff member of Borba, *the leading Titoist newspaper.*

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Saragat admits the difficulties involved. How to persuade Nenni to accept a Western-oriented foreign policy, for instance? For that matter, how to persuade de Gasperi to accelerate the pace of reform? But Saragat persists in believing he has the key not necessarily to immediate government stability but to eventual survival of democracy. If a new de Gasperi government falls, he reasons, the resultant elections could well go in favor of the Communists and left-wing Socialists given sufficiently wide acceptance of the sincerity of Moscow's peace offensive. That, Saragat fears, would be the end of democracy in Italy.

None of this would make much sense if it were not unquestionably true that Nenni would welcome a break with the Communists if it were possible. It is known, for example, that there was a full-blown "flap" in Communist headquarters when Togliatti learned that Nenni and Saragat were meeting to discuss the conditions under which the two could work together in a government with de Gasperi.

The above and much more was conveyed to Stevenson by Saragat during their meeting. Stevenson, according to all indications, thought Saragat's proposal impractical and dangerous. The Governor's parting remarks at the press conference must have been directed at Saragat:

> Like everyone else, I hope that Italy will continue to be confident and responsible, because the condition of a better life is peace and security—less expenditure for guns and more for people. Government indecision, confusion and impatience is a hazard in Italy as it is elsewhere in the democratic world.
>
> Everyone cannot win in a free political election, as I have good reason to know. But in these days of peril, I hope opposition elements do not play into the hands of those who detest the free way of life, who detest government by consent of the governed.

Inevitably one mentally draws parallels between the late Wendell Willkie's wartime global whirl and the Governor's tour, and sees the contrasts in the two men. The Stevenson I knew in Rome and Positano had none of the hearty showmanship and all-around outwardness of the Willkie I met in the Middle East in the late summer of 1942. Willkie could stir you, he could make a stone figure move. Stevenson, however, can persuade. This is a time for persuaders.

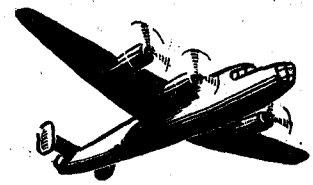
BELGRADE: D. J. Jerkovic

IT WAS PERHAPS fortunate for the United States as well as for the other nations of the world that Mr. Stevenson's visit coincided in many instances with the official tour of Mr. Dulles, the American Secretary of State.

Mr. Dulles himself has stated that, from the point of view of increased mutual understanding, the results of his voyage to the Asiatic and African continents would be equally valuable both to the nations he visited and to the authors of American foreign policy. Some of the conclusions formulated by Mr. Dulles created a spirit of increased optimism concerning the future international actions of the United States and the domestic tendencies that we know as McCarthyism. But Mr. Stevenson's voyage was unofficial and his relationship to the people he met and to the events he witnessed was, consequently, more direct and more flexible. We feel that his conclusions and his experiences are therefore apt to be more valuable and could have a more profound effect upon the public opinion of his countrymen than those of Mr. Dulles. And we are all agreed that nothing is more important than that American public opinion be well-informed as to the condition, the movement and the aspirations of the peoples of the world, because these peoples expect far more from the United States —and particularly from American democracy—than a superficial glance might indicate.

Mr. Stevenson spent less than one week in Yugoslavia—June 22 to 27. This would have been far too short a stay for even the most superficial understanding of the nation and its problems had not Mr. Stevenson approached the matter as a statesman and if he had not been given free access to every important official in the nation, including President Tito. In Belgrade he spoke with Edward Kardelj, vice-president, executive council of Parliament, and Milovan Djilas, State Minister; in Zagreb he was the welcome guest of Dr. Vladamir Bakaritch, Premier of Croatia, and met the leaders of the Republic of Croatia. He managed to visit the ancient and lovely city of Doubrovnik.

At Brioni he was the guest of President Tito, who received this ambassador of good will from a friendly nation with his usual candor. In spite of the private nature of the visit and the unofficial character of the conversations that were held there was in their meeting a special value which should be underlined: it was the first meeting between Tito and an American statesman of Mr. Stevenson's stature, the first meeting between two men who represent the best in their respective nations. And that is not insignificant. Mr. Stevenson knew that Yugoslavia is a small nation devastated by wars which has for years borne up under Russia's brutal, aggressive policies. He knew also that it is a nation big in its unshakeable determinaiton to be free and independent. Yet the experience of being here impressed him, and at the Skoplje airport he said:



"I leave you admiring all you have done and all that you are now doing. I am proud that my country is contributing to the strength and vitality of Yugoslavia."

No one answered him; there was no need. For during his entire stay he must certainly have become convinced that there is in Yugoslavia a great deal of good will, friendship and respect for his country. He undoubtedly understood that here confidence in American democracy equalled the hopes which the entire world places in the United States.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The New Orthodoxies

by Stephen Spender

ROUGHLY SPEAKING, today there are three orthodoxies which influence writing and to some extent all the arts. The first of the new orthodoxies is so vague that perhaps it is hardly correct to call it an orthodoxy at all. However it is an unstated criterion to which many people attempt to conform in the democracies—especially in England—and it is powerful. By orthodoxy here I simply mean conformity with the pervading presence of authority which demands the "responsibility" of the artist. In England this authority is some governmental body like the BBC or the British Council or the Arts Council which patronizes writers and artists. On the whole these authorities are rather enlightened. They do not consciously attempt to dictate to those who receive their benefits what they should think or write; they do not lay down rules.

All the same the authorities are themselves responsible to a public—they are liable to be bothered by questions in Parliament, for example—and they expect those who benefit to show a proper sense of this. Also these public authorities do have a certain taste. It might be defined best, I think as Committee taste: and, to go into the matter a little further, Committee taste is a nice compromise between what is conservative and what is advanced. What is advanced might further be defined as that which was most advanced at the moment when the committee first met and which will remain advanced so long as it goes on meeting: though this may be tempered a little by the opinion of independent critics occasionally penetrating into the consultations of the committee. Thus it happens that a certain modern style in the arts in England has suddenly acquired the qualities of that which is academic. Here I am thinking, it is true, not so much of writing as of painting and music. Publishing remains independent, whereas the patrons of the painters and the musicians are, more and more, simply government agencies. But it is also to some degree true of writers, since writers are only in exceptional cases supported by publishers. Whereas the Arts Council of the BBC buys a painting or commissions a work of music, it employs writers who cannot live by writing their books.

In America, the parallel development which has led to this first kind of orthodoxy is the employment of poets by Universities. The Universities—no more than the corresponding agencies in England—are not of course to be blamed: they are to be congratulated. They have—like the English organizations—saved the writers at the time of the collapse of private patronage and of a general crisis in publishing. Their action is only the last stage in a process which begins with politics and economics.

Nevertheless the result of the entry of the poets into the universities has been a tendency of the modern movement to become academic in American poetry just as modern art has become academic in England. It may seem at present difficult to reconcile academicism with modernism. In a few years time, I fear it will be only too easy to do so. In any case, as I have pointed out, the fact that the spirit of modern art was anti-academic, does not make it, once it has been accepted, any the less a highly suitable (because highly complex) subject for academic study.

In America though it is in criticism, much more than in poetry, that one can point to this tendency: and the fact that a good deal of this criticism is written by poets is also revealing. There are one or two points I want to make about a tendency of criticism to develop a kind of orthodoxy. The first thing to note is that it assumes that the writing of of poetry is a highly intellectual process of tying up a bundle of experiences and ideas into a poem which can then be untied again by a highly intellectual process. It analyzes and elucidates and it shows very little interest in the relation of literature to life: indeed it is probably rather vulgar to mention that there could be such a relationship. It establishes certain works as sacred texts and then proceeds to examine, analyze and generally probe them, looking always for myths, symbols, influences, Freudian explanations, and so on.

If you judge a novel primarily by its rootedness in a great many other literary works, the myth or myths it refers to or contains, the presence within it of material capable of Freudian or Jungian dissection, you may overlook the simplest yet most difficult of all questions about it, whether it creates an experience of life. When certain modern critics elucidate works they presuppose the presence of such a complexity of elements to be the necessary condition of art, that the criticism tends to overburden the work of art itself. Students might be puzzled to answer the question why it is that frequently a sophisticated critic, with his grasp of the complexities that naturally condition poetry, is not able to write poems better than those of the comparatively simple-minded poets. The answer may be that the shock of art is lost when it is absorbed into a complicated machinery of exigesis.

Twenty years ago T. S. Eliot was being denounced by dons for a drunken Bolshevik. Today he is accepted, partly perhaps because we have become familiar with his kind of sensibility (and this is a distinct gain) but partly because no one who can be the object of so many university theses could possibly be regarded as a drunken bolshevik. Yet although the words "drunken bolshevik" were and are inexact, sometimes I wonder whether a hundred volumes explaining the mythology of *The Waste Land* haven't done more to weaken the impact of that poem than calling Eliot rude names has done. Name-calling is a reaction which at least has a certain immediacy, whereas to go into poetry equipped with a contemporary critic's weapons of analysis is like going into a Shelleyan garden of sensitive plants in an armored car.

I do not mean that criticism should be less lax and attentive. But I think that it should be concerned with other things

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than intellectual analysis, things which perhaps require more attention, as certainly they require more judgment. It should be concerned with deciding what is a poet's relationship to life; for example, Dylan Thomas writes lines, some good and some bad. He is also a rhetorical writer: but what is his rhetoric about? The analysis of the quality of the poet's feeling for life is more significant than that of the influences that enter into his poetry, and it is also less harmful.

There is a tendency for criticism today to become interlocked in a kind of vicious mental circle with creativity. The critic labels those which are the intellectual elements supposed to enter into the poem. I think it difficult to deny that poets—especially young ones—are influenced by the conscious wish to put these guaranteed substances into their poems. Thus we get a process of qualities being extracted from poems which have been written and fitted into those which are being written. A kind of synthetic poetry is produced which is difficult to distinguish from real poetry, and this further complicates the role of modern criticism as a pervading authority.

Over a large part of the world the dominating orthodoxy is Marxist, which regards the writer as one who has to interpret into the terms of his particular medium the supposedly beneficial and absolutely necessary decrees of a Communist society. In effect the writer is simply asked to be a propagandist. But if he is a Communist he does not think of himself as such, because he believes that the party theoreticians have superior insight into the historic forces which have to be controlled in order to fulfill the Communist destiny, and does not believe that he has any truth of his own that should conflict with it. He asks to be "disciplined" by a "truth" which the Party directors know better than himself.

The very presence in the world of such an orthodoxy tends to produce its opposite, a counter-orthodoxy. For one effect of totalitarianism is to make us distrust individualism, not only because the individual feels weak in the face of such a machine of organized mass activity but because dictatorship itself rests on the will of one supreme individual, and therefore reveals to us the fallacy of putting trust in the authority of an unchallenged human being. Civilized men could almost accept the idea of Rimbaud as demi-god, but when it was changed to Hitler or Stalin, they remembered that men cannot be divine.

Modern life, at the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, offers us a picture which seems almost to surpass the darkest prophecies of Baudelaire. Half the world has fallen under the control of these tyrants the secret of whose strength is that they are able to convince those whom they rule that their lives are the objects of an inevitable development of history, and that the only right and wrong is that which serves or opposes the purpose of that history imposed by their terrible wills.

All contemporary attitudes actually are related to a choice. Either you choose these historians who have converted sedentary philosophy into the science of their will, or you are against them. But even if you are against them, you may be serving their purposes by making it easier for them to conquer wider and wider areas of mental life.

In Europe today—and perhaps everywhere—it is no longer possible to create a world of individual values which has the power of such a position a hundred years ago, surrounded as it was then by a kind of vacuum within which it floated and which was contained by an outer wall of the individualist passion of bourgeois society. Such was the world of poetic vision miraculously contained within, and yet marvellously isolated from, the materialism of the nineteenth century which began with the Romantics, and whose richness and variety flowered in such different talents as Keats, Rimbaud, Rilke, and E. M. Forster in his early novels. Given the outer wall of a materialist society whose values these writers criticized or rejected, the individualist geniuses could plant towers to last the whole of their spiritual life in the minds of perceptive readers.

But the outer wall could not last. When the fabric of bourgeois society began to collapse then the individualist visionaries who had been hostile to it could only participate in that collapse; could become nihilistic, or rejoice like Yeats in the destruction, or perhaps, like the poets of the 1930s could rally to the hope of a better society.

Today though, to rejoice like Yeats in the destruction which has largely been achieved, or to prophesy *The Waste Land*—which has been largely fulfilled—becomes a pallid mockery. In his book *The Captive Mind* (in which he analyzes the effects of the total organization of thought into the central ideology of Moscow, in contemporary Eastern Europe), the Polish poet Czeslaw Milosz comments on the unreality of *The Waste Land*, after he had experienced the destruction of Warsaw. Poets may prophesy the apocalypse, but their poems seem but imitations when it occurs.

One may feel that to speak too indulgently of death in these days, and to denigrate the values of living, is an occupation where one may find oneself in strange company. Do not the Marxist intellectuals of Eastern Europe also point out that life—as it is lived today—is a thing of little value? Everyone has to die, so if a few million die prematurely in order that the purpose of history may be accomplished, does it matter?

Despair seems better than the kinds of dogmatic orthodoxy which offer us deep truths about life and death, but take our minds off the real problems. The despair of *1984*, even if it offers us no way out, at least keeps our minds open to the fact that what happens in the world of those who are living matters immensely, and shows us that when we forget this, our forgetfulness may be moral complicity in gas chambers and the destruction of freedoms. It reminds us too that while there is any avenue of spiritual or physical self-expression in life—even when it is reduced to the lowest social terms or to depravity—there is hope that man will revolt.

Since the modern world is enormously complex, to accept ethical and social responsibilities is difficult. For example, to

(Continued on page 21)

RUSSELL RIDES AGAIN

THESE ARE BRILLIANT and, in a remote and inhuman way, amusing stories, a quite amazing performance considering that Lord Russell is in his eighties and has never before attempted fiction. Certainly the most interesting thing about them is the glimpse they offer us into the imaginative perception of human life which underlies Lord Russell's work. This perception is embodied in the plots and the style rather than in the characters and can probably be seen most clearly in the title story.

SATAN IN THE SUBURBS, by Bertrand Russell (Simon and Schuster; $3).

This is the story of Dr. Mallako, who manufactures horrors. To three clients he proposes ingeniously unscrupulous

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courses of action which should lead to the convenient deaths of unwanted people in their lives. The ingenious schemes go astray and destroy the schemers. This story is told by a narrator who interests himself in the schemers' fates. At first we take his preoccupation with them merely as a slightly artificial literary device for getting the story told; presently, however, we begin to feel the narrator is, like Doctor Watson, a somewhat complacent, mildly overconfident busybody. Like all Lord Russell's narrators, he tells his story in a second-rate Edwardian style very like Watson's which is sustained with masterly precision by the author. By the end of the story he has become so obsessed by the wickedness of humanity that he shoots the doctor and plans to blow up the world with a little machine he has invented. (It is characteristic of Lord Russell's social irony that such little machines are quite taken for granted.) His only anxiety is for the fish in the sea:

> I had nothing against fishes, which, so far as I then knew, and so far as I had observed in aquariums, were harmless and pleasant creatures, not infrequently beautiful, and possessed of a far from human dexterity in the avoidance of impacts with others.

But the little machine doesn't work, and after a few months the narrator awakens one night shouting, "I killed Dr. Mallako, and I am proud of it!" The story ends with his observing through the window the approach of "two policemen and an eminent psychiatrist," whom his wife has called.

Unlike the Lady Bracknell of Jack Worthing's imagination, who was, unfairly, a monster without being a myth, all of Lord Russell's characters are energetically fantastic without being the least alive. In *The Importance of Being Earnest*, Lady Bracknell is not a monster either because she is not alive, and the people of *Satan in the Suburbs* are very like the people of Wilde's play—though not for the same reasons—and not very like the people of *Zuleika Dobson*, to which Lord Russell refers as an influence in his introduction. Wilde's people are made remote by the play's almost unmitigated conviction of humanity's absolute absurdity. Lord Russell's people are made so by the equally unmitigated rationality with which his stories present them. They are so many factors in a social problem and are seen in an almost appalling reasonable way which is at the same time nearly magnificent because it is so beautifully witty and aware about everything—even about itself, for both the narrator and the style of "Satan in the Suburbs" are ironic commentaries on the attitude toward experience which actually dominates not only this story but all the others in the book.

These stories have all the characteristics of great satire except the feeling for the human possibilities of men which is the motive for such satire; they are the stories of a Swift who sounds as if he thought Gulliver's dilemma was really a laughing matter.

ARTHUR MIZENER

A MELANCHOLY FACT

THIS IS a knowledgeable, sound and wise book. It contains the Godkin Lectures which the author gave at Harvard in January of this year. In them, Mr. McCloy draws upon his wide experience as Assistant Secretary of War and High Commissioner for Germany in order to elucidate the basic problems of American foreign policy. He asks himself three questions: What are the substantive problems of foreign policy we are facing? What are the principles we ought to follow in the formation of our foreign policy? And how ought we to execute our foreign policy?

THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, by John J. McCloy (Harvard; $2).

In the dicussion of these problems, Mr. McCloy shows the same independence of judgment and freshness of approach which have made his mission to Germany so outstanding a success. He does not hesitate to state, for instance, that, contrary to the prevailing opinion, "the gap between Soviet military power and the readily available military strength of the West is growing greater rather than less." Anticipating recent discussions, he recognizes the urgency of examining our defense against the Soviet atomic threat. On the other hand, he demands of the American people "the poise which would permit our government to take advantage of any true Soviet move to reach a settlement on concrete issues, however broad their implications." He deplores "our ignorance of the Communist doctrine. . . . Few know how to identify the difference between Communist theory and Communist practice."

Mr. McCloy is, however, at his best when he deals with the formation and execution of American foreign policy. What he has to say about the emphasis upon military to the detriment of political considerations during the war points up similar conclusions others have arrived at on the basis of less intimate evidence. His criticism of the State Department under Hull is devastating, but just; he is perhaps somewhat too sweeping in his criticism of the State Department as he knew it during his service in Germany. His comments on the relationship between military and political authorities, the functions of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the training of the State Department personnel are worth pondering. He recognizes the need for new techniques of diplomacy, unencumbered by the fetters of the myth of non-intervention, and he demands with good reason that the State Department and its representatives abroad have control of our information, economic and military aid policies.

Yet for all its knowledgeability, soundness and wisdom, this book makes melancholy reading. For when these lectures were given six months ago, the diseases from which our foreign policy suffered were of manageable proportions, and there were high hopes that the new President, drawing upon his prestige and popular support, would cure the ills with which his two immediate predecessors had been unable to cope. What has become of those hopes, and what has happened to the Department of State and the foreign policy of the United States? What six months ago was a series of weaknesses which a forceful and wise president could easily have corrected has now become a cancer which has enfeebled American foreign policy and has well-nigh destroyed the Department of State as a living organism. In view of the developments of recent months, some of Mr. McCloy's recommendations have taken on a tinge of tragic irony. "There should be renewed effort to recruit top-flight students from the colleges and graduate schools on the basis of the complex and fascinating challenges that our present position in the world presents." Tell that to the hundreds of intelligent and devoted young men who have just been eliminated from the ranks of the State Department or, worse, remain, dismayed

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and bitter! When Mr. McCloy formulated his requirements of a good representative of the United States, we had seen quite a number who fell short of those requirements, but we had not yet seen an Assistant Secretary of State whose main diplomatic weapon is a freely used bottle deposited in his desk. Those were the good old days when the men responsible for our foreign policy were not yet convinced that their phones were being tapped and when key positions in the State Department had not yet been taken over by employees of Senators, naturally owing their first loyalties to them rather than to the Secretary of State.

This book, then, needs another chapter which would show us how completely the quality of American foreign policy depends upon a President and Secretary of State wise enough to know what the minimum requirements of good foreign policy are, and courageous enough to defend them against all comers.

HANS MORGENTHAU

THE LONELY EMINENCE

THESE PAPERS constitute an historical series without parallel in the study of a single American. Jefferson's 18,000 letters, and more than 25,000 letters to him, will constitute forty of the chronological volumes projected. About ten additional volumes projected in this series will be devoted to important special writings of Jefferson—on law, architecture, farm and garden, wine and cookery—and the massive edifice will have two large volumes of index. With the appearance of these three volumes, we have received roughly one-seventh of the total offering. At the close of volume seven the hero of this epic collection of letters, public papers, essays and documents has about forty-one more years of life ahead.

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, edited by Julian P. Boyd; Volumes V, VI, VII (Princeton; $10 a volume).

In such a vast and Gargantuan feast it is inevitable that some courses will not be as pleasing as others. Certainly volume five is not my favorite. As Governor of Virginia, from February to May, 1781, among the mounting vexations and dangers of those Revolutionary days, Jefferson apparently found himself swamped by an avalanche of official requests, memos, orders, and intelligences of every kind. The book records these transactions and naturally concentrates on themes like military supplies, recruitment problems, transport, prisoners of war, "soft" money, credit and taxation. Occasionally, there are inside views of the strategy of the Continental Army; and differences between the war in New York and New Jersey, and the war in Virginia and points South, are vividly indicated in the correspondence between Governor Jefferson and General Washington. But one gains an acute impression of the apparently hopeless odds confronting the tireless and ingenious Governor, who lacked sufficient authority and adequate regular troops to protect Revolutionary Virginia from invasion. In this context, Jefferson's supposed failure as War Governor takes on an entirely different aspect. It is questionable whether anyone, under these adverse circumstances, could have succeeded.

Volume seven moves on to richer human material than any preceding volume in the series. It covers the period of his voluntary political retirement, when he was afflicted by the death of his adored wife and incensed by the spiteful inquiry into his official conduct as Governor. The groundless inquiry, as Jefferson wrote, "inflicted a wound on my spirit which will only be cured by the all-healing grave." He rejected the insistent pleas of his friends to resume his political career, reminding them that he had dedicated to his country "the whole of the active and useful part of my life" and that he should therefore be permitted to achieve private happiness with his family, his books, and his farm.

But all his plans for comfort and happiness were reversed by the crushing blow he suffered in the death of his wife, an event which disposed him to take up his public career.

In volume seven, Jefferson, for those who value his philosophic and practical wisdom and his literary gifts, develops that mature and stable capacity for leadership which advances him to his great and lonely eminence as philosopher-statesman. Most interesting to the general reader is Jefferson's work, once he has arrived in Europe as minister, to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce, on a model plan. Apart from affording us a glimpse of Jefferson as an original analyst, expert in the logic of classification, there are unmistakable marks of Jefferson's faith in the rights of man. Unique provisions attempt to restrict war to immediate combatants, and to treat prisoners of war decently and honorably. Whatever one may judge to be the practical effect of these international expressions of the rights of man, it is worth noticing that America gained lustre and prestige for these efforts in the judgment of the statesmen of Europe.

Jefferson, in France, enjoyed the signs of our growing prestige and labored to secure more solid foundations for our future. He summed up the spirit of American experience with self government in a little-known letter to Richard Price: "Our motto is truly *'nil desperandum'*." Believing this, he was troubled, but not dismayed, at the want of power Congress possessed under the Articles of Confederation. One of the most important truths these volumes document is Jefferson's realistic appraisal of the need for a stronger union. By the spring of 1784, Jefferson is clearly stating the objects for which he would wish to see a Constitutional Convention called.

Short of the proportions of an essay, it is impossible to give either a fair sample or a meaningful summary of the mass of new material and brilliant interpretation provided in these volumes. Jefferson scholars indeed have begun to murmur a bit at the elaborateness of the editorial apparatus of notes, documentation, corrections, decodings, and the thousand and one auxiliary documents and other aids supplied by the indefatigable editors. But this murmur is only the obverse of the general outcry against the inadequate historical scholarship that marred definitive editions of collected writings in the past. There will doubtless be continued debate on the scope of editorial responsibility, but I know of no *a priori* limitations to confine daring and creative scholarship.

There is only one criticism that I would make of the editorial practice developed thus far. It is neither necessary nor desirable for the editors to go beyond presenting the material, interpreting it, and correcting previous misconceptions by calling attention to the precise contexts where certain scholars may be at fault. But this is only a minor dissent. For the work is a testament to scientific research at its best in the field of history; and it joins this rare objective virtue with a particular deep affection for the life and work of Thomas Jefferson.

ADRIENNE KOCH

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MASTERFUL AND WISE

WITHOUT KNOWING the whole field of literature on American history the present reviewer must express a doubt whether any recent work surveying the whole course of American history is quite so adequate and comprehensive as the *United States of America* by Henry Bamford Parkes. Its adequacy is derived partly from the fact that Mr. Parkes has

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: *A History*, by Henry Bamford Parkes (Knopf; $7.50).

no particular axe to grind, and he therefore gives us an account of the history of our nation which must be acceptable to many schools of thought.

The second reason why it is so satisfying is that in every period from our Colonial pre-history to the modern day he traces not only the political history in its domestic and foreign aspects, but gives us a very illuminating account of the manners and morals of the religious development, of literature, philosophy, science, and the arts.

In all these fields his judgments are balanced and fair. I can't think of any account, for instance, which explains more adequately why the Jeffersonians of our early days were opposed to strong Federal Government, while the modern Jeffersonians, or New Dealers, believe in Government intervention in economic life.

Such a total survey is a masterpiece both of scholarship and of a wisdom which transcends scholarship. One hopes that the book will be widely read not only in America but among our friends in the free world, for it will correct many current misconceptions among them. REINHOLD NIEBUHR

THE WATERS WAIT

WHENEVER I read anything of Somerset Maugham's (apart from his honest hackwork, which I respect as much as I respect Ford Madox Ford's or Smollett's), I have the same impression: of a man and writer who is obstinately, and fatally, *en garde*. Above all, he wishes to preserve himself, to be safe. His work never surrenders up his whole, involuntary truth, but only purveys a scrupulous image which he has created for the purpose. I know myself, says this image. I know my powers, limitations, and weaknessness. I am not going to set the world on fire; neither am I going to be a fool.

Fool is the key word. Mr. Maugham will not appear a fool. Yet all true writers, great and small, have been fools. Fools, I mean, to the extent that in their works they took themselves, their visions, and their heartbreaks seriously, risked excess, obeyed compulsion, forgot their dignity. Mr. Maugham has never done so. (It is interesting that in one of these essays he calls Gide, who was one of our greatest fools, silly.) Everything about his writing is a security measure: the carefully wry, diffident tone—he doesn't even mock with all his heart; the orderly, business-like style and syntax, which never betray fury or congestion; the judgment which remains safely worldliwise, without illusion, and without committal too. And even the man himself.

For many years Somerset Maugham has been playing a peculiar game with his readers about his own future: anticipating his final acts. He insists that his life has been lived according to an exact plan, that he will write no more short stories, that such and such is his last novel. The other day I read an interview in which, on embarking for Greece, he announced that this would be his "last voyage." He wishes us to regard him as a man who knows all of his own possibilities. This a brother of the one who saved his soul and lost the world.

It would be impertinent, and not very useful, to bring this up if Maugham's work were not scattered through with hints that the loss is ours as well as his. More than any of the writers with whom he is usually classed—the one highbrows never write evaluations of—he seems to me to have had a real call, and declined to hear it. The waters waited, but he kept his bread dry in his pocket. I nominate him the Writer Most Likely To Have Been More Than He Ever Allowed His Works To Let Him Be. In his

THE VAGRANT MOOD, by W. Somerset Maugham (Doubleday; $3).

way, he can teach young writers as much as Henry James.

The Vagrant Mood amounts to six leisurely essays. In the memoir of Augustus Hare, the author lets himself go a little; in the one called "Some Novelists I Have Known," a little more. But not enough in either case. The waters are still waiting. ROBERT PHELPS

SWAMP OF DISSERTATION

THIS BOOK, in its new English translation, is actually a small helping of a multi-volume novel of 2,000 pages and "twenty unpublished chapters, some existing in as many as 20 versions." While the present book is moderately sized, the narrative pace and development remain those of a much longer work, and the final result is generally unsuccessful.

THE MAN WITHOUT QUALITIES, by Robert Musil (Coward-McCann; $4).

Robert Musil all but drowns his fiction in a great, foggy swamp of dissertation. To be sure, there is a setting (Vienna, circa. 1913); characters (in, anti and indifferent to society); and occasional stirrings of what seems, at times, to be a plot. But the book is quite frankly a vehicle for Musil's labored and dyspeptic views of human nature in general and the characters of his book in particular.

Ulrich, central figure in *The Man Without Qualities*, is the namesake of the book; the individual who has stripped himself of all human illusion. Reality, for Ulrich, does not exist. Modern life has become fatally complex and meaning is no longer possible; since there is no Ultimate Reason, ethics and morals vanish in the futility of relativism.

In spite of himself, however, Ulrich is drawn into the "Collateral Campaign" designed to celebrate Emperor Franz Joseph's seventieth year of reign in 1918. However, World War I ended both Franz Joseph and his empire, along with any possible reason for a collateral campaign of imperial patriotism. This is rich irony indeed; somewhat too rich for comfortable digestion, since Musil seems to have deliberately set up his situation and cast to insure his ability to sneer at both. This he does, consistently.

However, the characters in Musil's book are not completely ineffective; most are introduced with fine psychological needlepoint in some ways similar to the vertical narrative of Henry James. But James' technical fastidiousness and craft make *The Man Without Qualities* seem a rather bumbling mass of Teutonic metaphysics. Musil is at his best while dissecting personalities and types of Old Vienna, but in the face of lumped philosophical tracts, his potential for effective characterization is lost.

Musil's own words can be applied as

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the most incisive criticism of *The Man Without Qualities:*

When one has been making demands for a long time without any result, the brain goes to sleep . . . our thoughts can no more remain standing for an indefinite period than soldiers can on parade in summer. If they have to wait too long, they simply fall down in a faint.

STANLEY COOPERMAN

BUT NOT TRANSFORMED

IN HENRY JAMES' short story, *The Real Thing*, a painter wishing to make a portrait of a duchess asks a real one to pose for him; he sees at once that she has not the carriage, deportment or look of a duchess. Finally he chooses a chargirl whose imagination and instinct help him paint what will look like the real thing. The painter learned that the real thing often seems counterfeit; that one of the prime functions of any artist is to give form, excitement, a certain right unexpectedness, a freshness, a universality, an inevitability, to subjects selected from life, that to report truth doesn't necessarily mean that one is telling the truth.

THE SEEKING, by Will Thomas. (Wyn; $3.50).

When Richard Wright's alarming autobiography, *Black Boy*, appeared, many readers and critics mentioned that they thought Wright's revelation of the terrors of his black childhood in white Mississippi were distorted. They couldn't understand the creativity of his autobiography or bare the awful burden of spiritual suffering he laid upon the heart of his readers. At the end of the book Wright leaves the south "bearing scars, visible and invisible" to head North "full of a hazy notion that life should be lived with dignity, that the personalities of others should not be violated, that men should be able to confront other men without fear or shame. . . . "

The Seeking, by Will Thomas, is the autobiography of a Negro who has lived in three areas of this country: Kansas City, Los Angeles and Chicago. Mr. Thomas has traveled widely, held many jobs from prize fighter to newspaperman. He has seen and felt the knuckles of prejudice against minority groups in America. He moved from the west coast to Vermont because he did not want his children to grow up in an America of race riots, ghettos, climates of freedom and freedom reversed. He could have left the country with his family for Haiti but he selected to give himself and his family another chance in America. America has been harsh to his race, but she was his mother and although she beat him, expelled him" . . . yet the incredible, the dismaying fact was that despite it . . . I loved her." The story of the Thomas' adjustment to Vermont and the natives' reaction to them is a story well worth telling. The book begins with Mr. Thomas' first day in Vermont waiting for his family to arrive, and ends happily with a hope and a kind of prayer:

For it cannot be wanton circumstances which has so precisely prepared us to accomplish this. It is, it must be there is design and purpose in the selection of our land from all others. . . .

By using the flashback method to tell his story Mr. Thomas is able to place the present side by side with the past. We receive the strange sensation of living with him in two levels of time at once. Mr. Thomas reports events with his camera eye. His pictures are explicit and obvious. He seldom informs them with the rich underneath texture that would imply more than the event itself. His writing for the most part is filled with clichés of thought and wording, for instance: "Mrs. Callen [one of his Vermont neighbors] . . . was quick, perceptive, her commentary always gentle, kindly, tolerant of man's foibles." Or "Her fragile, silver beauty was more than matched by the loveliness of her spirit." The dialogue has little reality.

His people sound as if they were talking from stilts. He has little sense of dramatic suspense, of building an event up to a hidden but right climax. And his reactions to these events seem always stock.

These are hard things to say about an autobiography that is obviously sincere. They seem harder to say because the fight for full freedom for all in America is so important, more important today than ever because the eyes of the world and especially dark peoples of the world are directed on what happens to minorities here. But a book must be well written to be effective even as propaganda. A more serious fault of this writer is his self-consciousness, and his unfounded suspicions. Mr. Thomas surely has seen the "real thing" but he has not been able to transform reality into deep and solid truth.

OWEN DODSON

(Spender, continued from page 17)

improve social conditions implies a great measure of centralization, which in turn may lead us to discover another truth which Herbert Read draws attention to:

All attempts by authoritarian regimes to find a place for the artist in the modern industrial system have only turned the artist into a kind of clown, a jester whose role is to amuse the industrial worker in his off time (decorate the canteen) or keep his mind off disturbing problems. All attempts of the State to find a place for the artist . . . have merely created a type of lifeless academicism which has no relevance to the desires and aspirations of the people at large.

The writers who now live under Communism look for *something* to the West. For what? They do not quite know themselves. Milosz says that among the things they do not seek is to "relinquish the feeling of responsibility for what the public gets from editors and producers. . . . The intellectual . . . makes distinctions between what is worthy of his respect in the West" and what is not.

For what, then? They look surely to the West for writers who understand that situation already existing within the West which tempted the Eastern writers into accepting Communism, in the hope that the Western writers will use their freedom to discover a statement of the problem which is not Communist. Most of what they see in the West, however, is negative. Even that which appears to us to be written to oppose the dictatorship by historical philosophers, from over there may seem merely a confirmation of their worst fears—that we do not understand, that we are potential victims, that we are decadent. Or perhaps we appear to be occupied in setting up shrines—inside the belly of the whale.

[*This is the second section of a three-part essay.—The Editors*]

NOTES ON THE CRITICS

STEPHEN SPENDER, English poet and ARTHUR MIZENER, professor at Cornell, are *NR* staff critics. HANS MORGENTHAU directs the Foreign Policy Center, Chicago University. ADRIENNE KOCH is the author of *Madison and Jefferson.* REINHOLD NIEBUHR's latest book is *The Irony of American History.* OWEN DODSON, Howard University professor, holds a 1953 Guggenheim fellowship in fiction. ROBERT PHELPS and STANLEY COOPERMAN, both of New York, frequently contribute to the *NR* and other weeklies.

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From Our Readers

McCarthy Seen from Europe

During my nine-month sojourn in Europe three years ago Sen. Robert A. Taft was one Republican, and almost the only one, about whom Englishmen were curious enough to inquire. They too recognized, even respected him as "Mr. Republican." His alleged isolationism interested them, but the interest was quite casual. Today Senator Taft is a forgotten man on this side of the Atlantic, totally eclipsed by the portentous figure of Senator McCarthy. Only President Eisenhower's official position saves him from a similar obscurity. About Senator McCarthy there is no casual unconcern. One does not have to start the topic. Sooner or later, and generally sooner, it pops up spontaneously in almost every Englishman's conversation with a visiting American. It betokens a concern though certainly not a fear—Britons are too imperturbable for that. A people who took Dunkerque and the Nazi blitz in stride cannot be disconcerted by anything Senator McCarthy can ever do. But Britons do frankly confess their inability to understand how anyone with the unrestrained power of Senator McCarthy can be other than a menace. At last someone in the United States has found out how to knock out the system of checks and balances.

To the American abroad, news about the homeland in the foreign newspapers always seems pretty meager. Today, however, there is one thing he can count on—no scrap of news about Senator McCarthy's inquisition will be omitted by the European press and the astonishment comes when there isn't a line about him. Thus Europeans learn how the Senator's threats lead to the purging of dangerous books from the overseas information libraries; how the inevitable confusion induced results in erratic judgment by those who must do the actual purging of books; how the Senator then charges that someone in the State Department is trying to sabotage his efforts to clean up the libraries and there must be still more purging of personnel. They read of the Senator's announced intention to ask former President Truman to appear for questioning concerning his possible withholding information about atom spies. Such cavalier treatment of a former chief of state is not fashionable among European democracies and ex-President Truman is usually held in high esteem abroad.

Britons and indeed the continental anti-Communist and democratic peoples generally are wrestling with the perplexing problem of integrating their strength with that of the United States against the common enemy. Markedly divergent ideological trends on the two sides of the Atlantic make this a peculiarly difficult matter. The current ideological vogue in the United States tends strongly to the right which seems to many Americans simply a matter of lining up on the side of the angels. It is fashionable at home just now — historically these have always proved to be transitory phases—to identify liberalism with Communism and to Europeans this looks like a fundamental tenet of McCarthyism.

On the continent the leftist tendencies among democratic peoples is rather more pronounced than in Britain. Viewed objectively, this signifies that Europeans no less than Americans are groping, each in their own way, for solutions of their pressing domestic problems. In each nation the solutions available are severely circumscribed by the complex of prevailing traditions, mores and folkways. American formulas are as useless to them as theirs are to us. Until this fact is recognized and respected integrating the anti-Communist democracies for defense will be exceedingly difficult.

Europeans, more than Americans, seem to recognize that integrating the nations with their various cultures is a function of statesmanship and diplomacy free from terror. They read Walter Lippmann's column in the Paris *Herald Tribune* and know exactly what he meant when he wrote of "the shell shock of diplomats abroad who are stunned by the terror and humiliation to which they are subjected." They consider McCarthyism disintegrating and paralyzing to the grand project of a united front against a common enemy. They cannot understand how one can so get the start of the majestic world without having been effectively challenged. Clement Attlee was expressing this idea when he said that, "one sometimes wonders who is the more powerful, the President or Senator McCarthy."

Europeans read in their papers that Senator McCarthy while grilling Dr. James B. Conant, the High Commissioner of Germany, told him: "We are going to continue picking off your men and exposing them unless you get rid of them yourself." The Senator's private espionage net is well known over here. "Cohn and Schine" fall familiarly from foreign lips—they may be better known than at home. "Peterborough," daily columnist of the London *Telegraph*, slipped over to Grosvenor Square to see how the book purge was affecting the American Embassy library. There was not much change since his last visit when Cohn and Schine were there, but a eulogistic book on the siege of Leningrad had disappeared. *Mission to Moscow* by Joseph Davies was no longer on the shelves and there were no books by Dashiell Hammet, the left-wing author of *The Thin Man.*

In France, Italy and Western Germany the concern over the disrupting effect of McCarthyism is far greater than in Britain. With the power of the Senator unchecked it appears difficult to use effectively UN or NATO or direct negotiations to reach international understandings and cement effective combinations. The conservative Frankfurter *Allgemeine Zeitung* expressed a continental consensus when, in a long, front-page editorial, it sharply criticized President Eisenhower for failing to check "the reign of fear" to which Senator McCarthy has subjected even the powerful men of the US; and "America is on the road to forfeiting the respect and admiration of the world for the high measure of liberties which were and are its pride." Here is an expression of the fear of our European friends, that the traditional moral prestige of the United States will be dissipated which would deprive it of its power to cement and guide the anti-Communist alliance of West Europe.

"McCarthyism," continued the editorial in the *Allgemeine Zietung*, "has become a power which plays an increasing role in world politics and may one day become decisive. It is an open secret that the free world is waiting with growing impatience for the day when the American President will pronounce the clear word." Disappointment was expressed over the cautious manner with which the President condemned book burning in his Dartmouth address. "The strange timidity of his gentle reproach is discomfiting."

There are shrewd observers in Europe who will not permit McCarthy's career to be explained as merely that of a demagogue exploiting a prevalent hysteria. D. W. Brogan of Cambridge has, of course, pronounced McCarthy the perfect demagogue. But another English scholar, a Conservative, expressed to me his suspicion that McCarthy was the tool of powerful interests which welcome the Senator's identifying Communism with liberalism as a bulwark against the spectre of "galloping socialism." Thus David Lawrence the re-publisher of Rebecca West's astonishing interpretation of McCarthyism might be considered the intellectual exponent of these conservative interests. Europeans read David Lawrence's syndicated column in the Paris *Herald Tribune.* Thus when President Eisenhower's "book burning" Dartmouth College speech was interpreted by American newspapers as meant for McCarthy until the President disavowed any such meaning Europeans could read Lawrence's lament: "But the injustice to Senator McCarthy had already been done in the Monday newspapers."

I must recount one positive good accomplished by Senator McCarthy on this

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side of the Atlantic. I was lunching with two English political scientists in London who were in the midst of the reading of final examination papers. When McCarthy's name was mentioned the two said together, almost in concert, that English students were finally showing an understanding of the nature of Congressional committees. It may be mighty cold comfort to most Americans, but here is British testimony to one good thing due to Senator McCarthy.

Oxford, England WILFRED BINKLEY

(Professor Binkley, well known as a political scientist, is the Republican Mayor of Ada, Ohio.)

Bandwagon

The postmastership at Hesston is still open, and applicants may file with the Civil Service Commission in Washington up to Tuesday, July 14. If no Republican can qualify, this juicy plum might go to a Socialist or even a Democrat under a strictly non-partisan rule. – Harvey County News, *Newton, Kansas, July 9, 1953.*

In Savannah, Ga., a woman sued the Coca-Cola Bottling Co. for $20,000, charging that she had swallowed a cockroach along with her beverage and had become ill. Insisting cockroaches were harmless, defense lawyer Alex produced one and began eating it, bit by bit. The jury exonerated the company. – *From* Tempo, *July 13, 1953.*

The new play, *Picnic,* was attacked during its tryout by the St. Louis County Medical Bulletin because "one of his characters [says] that in Sweden the poor people get the same medical service as the rich under Swedish socialized medicine. . . . People in the US, hearing this line, may easily be led to the quick opinion that the Swedish socialized medicine plan is better than our system or . . . that the rich and poor here do not get the same medical or hospital service." – Theater Arts, *April 1953.*

The banker is "no longer the man with the glass eye and ice water in his veins," but is a "real humanitarian" in his community, banking students were reminded yesterday. Frank M. Totton, vice-president of the American Institute of Banking, told the graduating class of the group's New York Chapter that the "real banker is a minister of applied religion, a teacher of sobriety and thrift and the finer virtues." – *From the New York* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS.

To Our Readers

Monday's mail brought this letter:

DEAR SIR: I understand that you are publishing a book entitled *Senate Committee Report on Senator McCarthy.* I, therefore, give you the following information, not because I think you are unaware of of it but rather so that at a subsequent date you will be unable to claim ignorance of the facts as a legal defense.

1. This is not a Senate Committee Report. Neither the Senate nor any Senate Committee has ever adopted it. Therefore, the material contained therein is in no way privileged.

2. This so-called report was made by Senators Hennings, Hendrickson and Hayden. Hendrickson and Hennings were part of a five-man subcommittee who were appointed to investigate charges made by Senator Benton against Senator McCarthy. Three of the five-man committee resigned therefrom. One of them, Senator Welker, stated that his reason was because of the dishonest handling of the matter by the subcommittee. Two members of the staff resigned subsequently giving substantially the same reason. This "report" was, therefore, made by a minority of the original five-man subcommittee who were joined in it by Senator Hayden who was never confirmed as a member of the subcommittee by the full Rules Committee.

3. The report states that I deposited $29,230 in cash over a five-year period with the clear intimation that there was something improper about this. An example of how someone reading this would understand it was the case of the Washington columnist who, upon reading the report, wrote that handling large amounts of cash like this was the way of crooks and racketeers.

4. The Senators had available my Senate payroll record. They know that I, as well as all Senate employees, was paid in cash, and that my salary totaled over $29,000 for that period. Therefore they know that it was a completely normal procedure for me to deposit my salary in the bank. I was never even phoned about this matter before this report was issued.

5. Neither the Benton resolution nor any other Senate resolution has called for or authorized any investigation of or report on me.

6. I have never held any public office nor have I been a candidate for public office.

This is not being written with the hope of inducing you to change your activities but only so that there can be no question raised about the extent of malice involved in the case of your distribution of this false and libelous material.

Sincerely yours, Ray Kiermas,
Adm. Asst. to Sen. McCarthy.

The *NR* reprint to which Mr. Kiermas refers may be bought at 1825 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington, D. C. at 10 cents a copy; we are not raising the price.

M. S.

MAGAZINE

"HOW TO BE SANE THOUGH NEGRO"—lead article on psychology of minority groups in current issue of *ETC.*, official quarterly journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write *Etc*, Dept. 22, 539 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

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I HAVE LONG been a reader of this magazine and it makes a wonderful contribution to a more intimate and faithful knowledge of current events. I could not do without it.

The value of its contribution lies in the fact that the NEW REPUBLIC *is the product of free men, free minds and able minds, for which there is a great need in America. It speaks without fear or favor of any man or interest, and so I find much in common with its contribution. There is never anything stilted or pointless in its writings.*

If I were giving this paper a motto, I would put on the masthead the quotation "With A Mission and Without a Muzzle." Long live the NEW REPUBLIC *and I hope and believe that its subscribers and readers feel as I do, and they will join with me in furthering its circulation at every opportunity, commending it to friends and neighbors as a worthwhile liberal publication, filling a great need in our American life. The magazine is worthy and well qualified to represent public opinion, and it is a great power for good wherever it finds a place.*

So may God bless the NEW REPUBLIC *as it continues to carry on its worthwhile work, and it can hold up its head with great self-respect and satisfaction. May it go on from strength to strength, building up a sound public opinion in our beloved country.*

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